

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY: IO/UNP:GBHELMAN
APPROVED BY: IO:JABAKER
S/S:LMACFARLANE

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 115411

EXDIS FOR ASST SECY MAYNES FROM BAKER USUN FOR LEONARD

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (LAST 2 LINES PARA 4)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA

SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE 32ND GA

1. I DISCUSSED THE MEMORANDUM THAT FOLLOWS WITH PETER TARNOFF AND HAVE REVISED IT ON THE BASIS OF HIS SUGGESTIONS. PETER'S MAIN RECOMMENDATION WAS THAT THE SECRETARY WILL PREFER TO MAKE A FORCEFUL RECOMMENDATION TO THE PRESIDENT AND THAT HE THINKS THE RECOMMENDATION WHICH SHOULD BE MADE IS FOR A TWO-DAY VISIT. IN ORDER TO SUMMARIZE THE NATURE OF SUCH A VISIT, WE ALSO PREPARED A SAMPLE SCHEDULE AS AN ATTACHMENT. PETER SAID THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD ALSO LIKE TO HAVE ANDY'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL, SO I AM TRANSMITTING THE FULL PACKAGE TO YOU FOR YOUR COMMENT AND FOR ANDY'S APPROVAL.

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2. TEXT OF THE DRAFT MEMO TO THE SECRETARY FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

ISSUE FOR DECISION

WE HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE WHITE HOUSE TO PROVIDE

OUR THOUGHTS ON HOW THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE MIGHT BE

ARRANGED SO THAT HE IS IN THE POSITION TO MEET WITH SOME OF THE FOREIGN LEADERS WHO WILL BE COMING TO ATTEND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE WHITE HOUSE IS SETTING ASIDE TIME IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 20 AND OCTOBER 10 FOR THIS PURPOSE.

BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS

THE ASSEMBLY OPENS THIS YEAR ON SEPTEMBER 26. TRADITIONALLY, THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY EACH YEAR ATTRACT A LARGE NUMBER OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AND A FEW HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. PAST SECRETARIES OF STATE HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION TO SPEND SEVERAL WEEKS IN NEW YORK IN EXTENSIVE BILATERAL TALKS WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF THEIR COUNTERPARTS. THE PATTERN HAS BECOME WELL ESTABLISHED AND IS A FIXTURE ON THE DIPLOMATIC SCENE EACH FALL.

THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE, IN CONTRAST, HAS NOT FALLEN INTO ANY CONSISTENT PATTERN. EACH PRESIDENT, AT ONE OR MORE TIMES IN HIS TERM, HAS DELIVERED THE MAIN US STATEMENT DURING THE ASSEMBLY'S GENERAL DEBATE. FOREIGN LEADERS WHO COME TO NEW YORK FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAVE ON OCCASION BEEN INVITED TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT. SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IS A CASE IN POINT.

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IN CONSIDERING THE PATTERN TO ESTABLISH FOR THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT:

-- A SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD ENABLE HIM TO ADDRESS ISSUES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE US AT THE TIME. SEVERAL OF THESE ISSUES MAY EVOLVE TO A POINT WHERE A MAJOR US STATEMENT OF POLICY WOULD BE DESIRABLE. THE QUESTIONS WHICH WILL LIKELY BE OF SPECIAL CONCERN IN SEPTEMBER ARE NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PREPARATIONS FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR A TEST BAN.

-- THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CAN PROVIDE AN UMBRELLA FOR A VARIETY OF BILATERAL TALKS. SHOULD THE PRESIDENT DECIDE THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO MEET WITH ONE OR MORE FOREIGN LEADERS, BUT WITHOUT THE PROTOCOL COMPLICATIONS THAT A

TRIP TO WASHINGTON ORDINARILY WOULD ENTAIL, THE SUGGESTION COULD BE MADE THAT THE PARTICULAR LEADER -- FOR EXAMPLE, BREZHNEV -- MIGHT MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT

IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTICIPATING IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
AT THE SAME TIME, A WILLINGNESS BY THE PRESIDENT TO
PARTICIPATE IN BILATERALS IN NEW YORK MIGHT RESULT IN
MORE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT SHOWING UP THAN WOULD OTHER-
WISE BE THE CASE AND EACH WOULD LOOK TO MEET THE
PRESIDENT. MOREOVER, THE PROBLEM OF WASHINGTON PROTOCOL
WILL NOT BE COMPLETELY RESOLVED BECAUSE SOME HEADS OF
GOVERNMENT INEVITABLY WILL COME TO NEW YORK AFTER THE
PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE AND WILL WANT TO COME TO
WASHINGTON TO SEE HIM.

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IN OUR VIEW, THERE ARE TWO GENERAL SCENARIOS OPEN
TO THE PRESIDENT:

A. HE COULD GO TO NEW YORK TO SPEAK AT THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE GENERAL DEBATE,
SEPTEMBER 26, IN THE US'S TRADITIONAL NO. 2 SLOT
(BRAZIL IS ALWAYS THE FIRST SPEAKER). HE COULD PAY A
COURTESY CALL ON SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM, AND HAVE
TIME FOR ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES:

-- A RECEPTION IN HIS HONOR

-- SEVERAL KEY BILATERALS.

THE BETTER PART OF ONE DAY WOULD BE TAKEN UP BY THIS
KIND OF PROGRAM. YOU WOULD ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT AND
EITHER STAY IN NEW YORK FOR BILATERALS YOURSELF OR
RETURN TO NEW YORK ON ONE OR MORE SUBSEQUENT OCCASIONS
FOR BILATERALS.

B. THE PRESIDENT COULD SPEND TWO TO THREE DAYS IN NEW
YORK. HE COULD SPEAK TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON
SEPTEMBER 26 AND THEN SCHEDULE A SERIES OF BILATERALS
WITH OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AND SELECTED FOREIGN
MINISTERS IN WHICH YOU WOULD PARTICIPATE. IN ADDITION,
THE PRESIDENT COULD SPONSOR RECEPTIONS FOR VARIOUS
REGIONAL GROUPINGS. THIS WOULD ALLOW THE PRESIDENT TO
PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THIRD WORLD GOVERNMENTS.
YOU COULD REMAIN AND RETURN SUBSEQUENTLY TO NEW YORK
ON ONE OR MORE OCCASIONS FOR FURTHER BILATERALS WITH
YOUR COUNTERPARTS.

RECOMMENDATION

THAT YOU SEND THE ATTACHED MEMORANDUM TO THE
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PRESIDENT AND DESCRIBE FOR HIM THE RANGE OF HIS POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION. THE SUGGESTIONS IN THE MEMORANDUM ARE BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT THERE ARE IMPORTANT BENEFITS TO BE GAINED ON NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES, ON MIDDLE EASTERN QUESTIONS, AND ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS, IF THE PRESIDENT PAYS SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THIRD WORLD LEADERS.

APPROVE-----DISAPPROVE-----

END TEXT.

3. TEXT OF DRAFT MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH ANDY YOUNG ON A PLAN FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE NEXT GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 26. WE HAVE SOUGHT TO DEVELOP A SCHEDULE WHICH WOULD ALLOW YOU TO MEET WITH THE VARIOUS WORLD LEADERS -- AND PARTICULARLY THOSE FROM THE THIRD WORLD -- WHO WILL BE COMING TO THE ASSEMBLY. ANDY JOINS ME IN THE RECOMMENDATION WHICH FOLLOWS.

PAST PRESIDENTS, AT SOME POINT EARLY IN THEIR ADMINISTRATION, HAVE DELIVERED MAJOR STATEMENTS AT THE OPENING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S GENERAL DEBATE. THEY HAVE SELDOM, IF EVER, SPENT ANY ADDITIONAL TIME IN NEW YORK FOR BILATERAL MEETINGS OR OTHER UN-RELATED EVENTS.

PAST PRACTICE, HOWEVER, SHOULD IN NO WAY INHIBIT YOU FROM ESTABLISHING A DIFFERENT PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION. WHILE WE DO NOT YET HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON WHICH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL BE ATTENDING, YOUR DECISION ON PARTICIPATION WILL STRONGLY INFLUENCE THE PRACTICE OF OTHERS.

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ACCORDINGLY, I RECOMMEND A TWO-DAY VISIT TO NEW YORK, FROM THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 26 TO THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 27, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING EVENTS:

-- A SPEECH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 26.
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL CONSIDER A SERIES OF IMPORTANT

ISSUES OF MAJOR CONSEQUENCES TO THE UNITED STATES -- FOR EXAMPLE, NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE MIDDLE EAST,

SOUTHERN AFRICA, A SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, AND A NUCLEAR TEST BAN -- WHICH WILL MERIT PRESENTATION OF US POLICIES AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL TO AN AUDIENCE AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL.

-- SIGNING OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS. IN THE EVENT THAT YOU SHOULD WANT TO PERSONALLY SIGN THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE IN NEW YORK BECAUSE THE DOCUMENTS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO LEAVE THE UN SECRETARIAT. YOUR SIGNING OF THE CONVENTIONS COULD BE THE SECOND HIGHLIGHT OF YOUR TRIP. THIS WOULD PUT THE SIGNING AFTER THE MAIN PART OF OUR SUMMER CAMPAIGN ON THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION AND JUST BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE BELGRADE CSCE PERMITTING YOU TO EMPHASIZE IN THAT CONTEXT AS WELL AS IN THE UN CONTEXT YOUR CONTINUING DEDICATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH WORLD LEADERS. NORMALLY, A HALF DOZEN OR MORE THIRD WORLD HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT COME TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY EACH YEAR. MORE MIGHT COME FROM THE THIRD WORLD, AND FROM SOME OF OUR ALLIES, IF IT WERE KNOWN THAT YOU PLANNED NOT ONLY TO ADDRESS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BUT TO STAY AN EXTRA DAY IN NEW YORK. MEETING WITH THEM IN NEW YORK OR WASHINGTON (DEPENDING ON TIMING) WOULD PROVIDE YOU WITH CONFIDENTIAL
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AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THIRD WORLD LEADER; WITHOUT EXTENSIVE TRAVEL.

--MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF KEY REGIONAL GROUPS. WORKING LUNCHEES AND RECEPTIONS COULD BE ORGANIZED FOCUSING ON MAJOR THIRD WORLD GROUPS -- AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND LATIN AMERICA. AT THESE OCCASIONS YOU MIGHT ADDRESS BRIEFLY THE KEY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE REGIONAL GROUPS. IN SO DOING, YOU WOULD BE ACKNOWLEDGING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UN TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. A MEETING WITH AMERISINGE, SRI LANKAN LOS PRESIDENT, COULD ALSO BE USED AS AN OCCASION FOR STRESSING YOUR INTEREST IN ASIAN PROBLEMS AND THE LAW OF THE SEA, ON WHICH HE HAS PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE, AND THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT.

I HAVE ATTACHED A SAMPLE SCHEDULE FOR A TWO-DAY VISIT TO ILLUSTRATE HOW YOUR TIME MIGHT BE SPENT.

IF, INSTEAD, YOU WOULD PREFER TO BE IN NEW YORK FOR ONLY ONE DAY, I WILL MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO YOU FOR AN ALTERNATE SCHEDULE. END TEXT

4. TEXT OF ILLUSTRATIVE SCHEDULE FOLLOWS:

SEPTEMBER 26

10:00 A.M. -- ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK

10:15 ----- SWEARING IN OF US DEL TO UNGA IN PRESENCE
US MISSION STAF

11:00-11:30 - CALL ON SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM

11:30-12:15 - SPEECH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(YOU SHOULD BE THE SECOND SPEAKER IN THE GENERAL DEBATE.
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BRAZIL HAS OPENED THE GENERAL DEBATE DOWN THROUGH THE
YEARS.)

1:00-2:30 --- WORKING LUNCH WITH OAS AMBASSADORS
2:30-3:00 --- MEETING WITH YUGOSLAV UNGA PRESIDENT
3:00 ----- MEETING WITH LOS PRESIDENT AMERSINGHE

4:00-5:00 --- BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH HEADS OF STATE OR
GOVERNMENT

5:30-7:00 --- WORKING RECEPTION FOR OAU AMBASSADORS

8:00 ----- ATTENDANCE AT TRADITIONAL DINNER BY THE
SECRETARY GENERAL FOR PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL

SEPTEMBER 27

8:30 A.M. --- WORKING BREAKFAST WITH CHIEFS OF OECD
DELEGATIONS

10:30 ----- SIGNING OF HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANTS

11:00-12:45 - BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS (PERHAPS WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO)

1:00-3:00 --- WORKING LUNCH WITH ARAB GROUP

3:00-5:00 --- POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL BILATERALS (PERHAPS
WITH INDIANS)

YCPP AAAAAAAA DEPART FOR WASHINGTON CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

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